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III

Conversion and Religious Divisions

175* While conversion to Christianity was an inevitable phase of
186 the process by which the Slavs were drawn into the general
• 797 movement of European civilization, it was by no means an unmixed blessing. When Slavic tribes had evolved to some semblance of national consciousness and even statehood, or were sufficiently remote from the center where religious influence was exempt from political pressure, they were able to retain their independence and to follow a characteristic course of development. But if they lived on the periphery of a powerful and aggressive Christian state, their political independence was frequently threatened, and if this state cherished colonial aims, the convert Slavs were very likely to face the choice between assimilation and enslavement, or, at the very worst, complete extermination.

797* The section of the medieval church which brought about the
795 conversion was also a factor of durable historical weight. The
178 Western Church was devoted to the tradition of Latin culture.
779 It insisted on the celebration of the Mass in the hallowed
191 language of the Church. Hence it evinced little concern for the creation of any vernacular culture. Though not possessed of
175* the same vitality, the Eastern Church soon found that it could evangelize the various pagans on the long Byzantine frontier more effectively if it allowed them to use their native languages

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in the service. Hence, though much of early south or east Slavic literature is either translated or imitated, the fact remains that the Slavs under Byzantine intellectual and religious influence developed significant national cultures much more rapidly than those under the domination of Rome. That these cultures, after a brilliant initial spurt, were later retarded and even brought to a halt which lasted several centuries is due, not to the source of conversion itself, but to historical accidents which supervened after conversion took place. Had not the Eastern and the Southern Slavs fallen victims, in one case to Tartar invasion and in the other to Turkish conquest, their intellectual lag in comparison with the rest of Europe would not have been so great. The Russians, for example, were completely deprived of all Western stimulation after the middle of the thirteenth century and nearly three hundred years elapsed before they entered upon the difficult process of assimilating the Western culture which had developed during that long and critical interval. The South Slavs, on the other hand, shook off the Turkish yoke only within the last century and thus were even more handicapped than the Russians in their struggle to catch up with the modern world.

Of all the Slavs, the Slovenes in Carinthia and Carniola were the first to encounter missionary activities. Early in the seventh century, they had been temporarily combined with Czechs and Sorbs north of the Danube in the semilegendary kingdom under Samo, who led them victoriously against the Avars and simultaneously offered a temporary barrier to Frankish expansion southward. During his declining years in Switzerland, Saint Columban, the great Irish missionary, had thought, as early as 612, of setting out from Bregenz on a mission to the nearest Slavs, but, finding the task too difficult for his advanced age (he was already sixty-nine), he retired to Italy and ended his days at Bobbio.

After Samo disappeared from the scene and his realm was dissolved, the Slovenes were unable to withstand the Avars, who soon held the Danube as far as the Enns. The Slovenes

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then applied for aid to the Bavarians. The latter beat off the Avars, but in 750 also seized control of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola. Then, in 788, when Charlemagne deposed Duke Tassilo of Bavaria, all Bavarian dependencies fell under the sway of the Carolingian realm. Even before this date, some of the local Slovene nobility had been converted to Christianity and consequently intermarried with Bavarian families. A number of churches had thus been founded in this area by missionaries from Salzburg, and a considerable proportion of the local Slovene population had also been Christianized before the epoch of Carolingian sovereignty.

When this sovereignty became established, missionary activities were intensified. During the reign of Charlemagne there were two centers from which missionary activity reached the Slovenes: the archbishopric of Salzburg and the patriarchate of Aquileia, at the head of the Adriatic. The former soon took the lead, and after Charlemagne defeated and dispersed the Avars in 796, the area between the Danube and the Theiss which they evacuated was added to the diocese of Salzburg. Bavarian missionaries accompanied German colonists into this district, where the new Slavic occupants were rapidly converted and Germanized, especially as the Slavic landlords were rapidly eliminated. The first bishop regularly assigned to the Slovenes was Deodoricus, ordained at Salzburg in 799. His diocese extended to the river Drave, which was the dividing line between the sees of Salzburg and Aquileia.

Similar missionary activity was also set in motion among the neighboring Croats south and east of the Slovenes. As the power of the Byzantine empire declined, the Frankish power gradually extended to the Slavs of the Adriatic coastline, so that the Dalmatian Croats were subject to the Franks from 803, and Frankish authority was but little impaired by the revolt of the Croat prince Lyudevit against Louis the Pious from 819 to 822. A few years later, for political reasons, an inland Croat district headed by Margrave Pribina, a Frankish feudatory with his headquarters in Pannonia near Lake Bala-

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ton, experienced a period of intense missionary activity stimulated by its chief. Pribina thus entered into the good graces of King Louis the German, and in 850 the archbishop of Salzburg consecrated the first Christian church in Pribina's dominions at Mosaburg, on Lake Balaton. Since fully half the notables present on this occasion bore German names, it is clear how intense German immigration had been and how far the policy of Germanization pursued by the Bavarian missionaries had proceeded. Within fifteen years Pribina's territory contained more than thirty-two churches and many monasteries. On the other hand, conversion and colonization also contributed to diminishing the area occupied by pure Slavic populations, and the rapid contraction of Slovene and Croat territory southward from the Danube is due primarily to this process.

After the dissolution of Samo's kingdom about 650, the Western Slavs in modern Czechoslovak territory played no role in history until Charlemagne's campaigns against the Avars one hundred forty years later. On these campaigns the emperor's troops passed through Bohemia, and since the pagan Slavs of this area threatened the flank of the empire, they were subjected to Frankish attacks after the year 800. Louis the Pious already possessed numerous Bohemian vassals, and in 845 fourteen Czech chieftains appeared in Regensburg at the court of Louis the German to request baptism. Somewhat further eastward, the kindred Moravians were united under one prince, Mojmir, who, though still a pagan, was also a vassal of Louis the German and thus did not oppose the operations of missionaries from Regensburg and Passau.

When Mojmir died in 845, Louis chose as the prince's successor the latter's nephew Rostislav, whom he regarded as stupid and who, he hoped, would be grateful for this elevation. Rostislav proved to be neither. Not only did he pursue Mojmir's consolidation tactics, but, while letting his allies, the disunited Czech tribes, fight against the Franks, he still maintained outward loyalty to Louis and actively promoted a policy

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of Christianization, hoping that a common faith would eventually combine all neighboring Slavic tribes under his sway. This ingenious policy soon worried Louis to the point where he sent a Bavarian force against Rostislav in 855, at the same time detailing another detachment to prevent the Czechs from helping him. This punitive expedition was a failure. Rostislav chased the Bavarians out of his territory and became virtually independent. The next few years were too full of complications in the west to allow Louis the luxury of reprisals against Rostislav, who extended his sway along the Danube at the expense of the disorganized Avars, and finally, in 860, deposed the Croat Prince Pribina in favor of the latter's son Kotzel. Since Pribina was loyal to Louis the German, this exploit was carried out under the pretext of making common cause with Louis' rebellious son Carloman, margrave of the Ostmark, who hoped to gain the empire with Slavic support.

In any case, Rostislav was at this juncture the independent chief of a large group of Slavic tribes, not only in Moravia but also south of the Danube. He could not be certain that Carloman, if successful, would deal any more gently with him than did Louis the German. Rostislav's expansion along the Danube had brought him into direct touch with the Bulgarians who, under the Khagan Krum before 814 and his successor Omurtag thereafter, had become a pagan state important enough to maintain diplomatic relations with both Franks and Byzantines. The Bulgarians supported Louis the German against Carloman, and Boris, their prince since 852, was now toying with the possibility of accepting conversion from Byzantium. Rostislav himself had succeeded reasonably well with the political emancipation of his countrymen. What more natural than that he should also seek their religious autonomy by creating a clergy who could use the vernacular, and would perhaps wield the book more efficiently than the sword? For the priests and monks from Salzburg and Passau were at least as good soldiers as they were clerics—the church militant in person.

Rostislav thus seems to have thought of Slavic-speaking mis-

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sionaries as early as 860. There is good evidence that he first applied to Rome in vain. After this failure, he turned to Constantinople, with enormous consequences for the future of Slavic civilization, not so much in his own domains, but throughout eastern Europe and the Balkans. Confronted, after the defeat of Carloman, by a new alliance between Louis the German and Boris of Bulgaria, Rostislav was now so placed that any political contact with the Greek empire, such as might result from closer religious affiliations, could be regarded only as eminently desirable insurance.

A Moravian mission sent by Rostislav reached Constantinople toward the end of 862 and stayed there the rest of the winter. The Eastern empire had been ruled since 843 by Michael III, picturesquely nicknamed the Drunkard despite his military and administrative ability. The chief ecclesiastical and intellectual light of Byzantium in his day was the patriarch Photius, who had held this post since 858. From a political standpoint, the mission was successful. Boris of Bulgaria was detached from his alliance with Louis the German. But the religious results of the mission were even more striking.

At Salonika, in the ninth century the center of an area largely populated by Slavs, there was stationed a Greek *drungarios* or battalion commander of noble birth by the name of Leo. He had two sons, Constantine and Methodius. Constantine had enjoyed a liberal education, studied under Photius himself, and became a professor of philosophy, but later gave up a brilliant scholarly career for monastic orders. He was eventually sent upon a missionary journey to the Khazars, on which he was accompanied by his elder brother Methodius. Likewise well-educated, Methodius had already held the post of district governor in a Slavic-speaking area not far from Salonika, but had abandoned the civil service to become a monk on Mount Athos, which he left only for the mission to Khazaria. The two brothers returned to Constantinople from this mission late in 861, about a year before Rostislav's envoys reached there. Constantine retired to private life, while Me-

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thodius became abbot of the monastery of Polychron, in the vicinity of Mount Olympus.

The two brothers were recalled from their retirement by Michael III when Rostislav's mission asked for Slavic-speaking priests. Constantine in particular had demonstrated considerable linguistic talent on his mission to Khazaria, where he had learned Hebrew, and it is certain that both brothers spoke the Bulgarian dialect which prevailed in the environs of their native city. Upon accepting the mission, and before proceeding to Moravia, Constantine invented a Slavic alphabet, and translated into the Slavic dialect he knew a selection of passages from the Gospels.

This translation is the beginning of all Slavic literature, but the nature of the alphabet invented by Constantine is questionable. We have, as it happens, two early Slavic alphabets, the so-called Glagolitic, somewhat enigmatic in origin, and the Cyrillic, which is a combination of the Greek and Latin alphabets with some additions for specifically Slavic sounds. This latter is the ancestor of the modern Russian, Serbian, and Bulgarian scripts. On account of the difficulty of the Glagolitic, it was later supplanted in Bulgaria by the Cyrillic, which is relatively close to the Greek. On purely psychological grounds, but in utter disagreement with many much more authoritative teachers and colleagues, I believe that the priority belongs to Cyrillic, since Constantine would (I assume), if only for reasons of convenience, have used an alphabet as close as possible to the one with which he was most familiar. Then later in Moravia, when he found that the German clergy viewed with suspicion and hostility everything Greek, I believe that he devised the tricky and crabbed Glagolitic, which does not resemble Greek script at all, to disarm his opponents.

Accompanied by a few Greek priests who also knew Slavic, Constantine and Methodius arrived in Moravia during the spring of 863. They were well received by Prince Rostislav,

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though the local clergy from Passau and Regensburg viewed them as dangerous rivals, for these Greeks were scholars and men of action who had the advantage of speaking the local language. At first they celebrated Mass in Greek, which was as incomprehensible to the masses as the Latin of the Frankish clergy. Constantine then hastened to translate the whole service, which only added to the resentment of their competitors, despite the fact that he actually translated not the Byzantine ritual but the Latin missal. In Western eyes this was a drastic and unparalleled innovation. Whatever Rostislav's good intentions were, he was not for long in a position to support the Greeks wholeheartedly, for in the autumn of 864 he had been attacked and once more reduced to vassalage by Louis the German. Yet the mission prospered to the point where the problem of ordaining new priests presented itself. Constantine even made a visit to the son of Pribina, Prince Kotzel, on Lake Balaton, who became an enthusiastic admirer of the brothers' work and confided fifty young men to him for training.

Since it was obviously undesirable, if not impossible, for Constantine and Methodius to have their disciples ordained by the bishops of Passau or Salzburg, they decided, after three years of missionary activity, to journey to Rome, where they could obtain the endorsement of Pope Nicholas I. The brothers were by no means hostile to the Pope; on the contrary, in common with numerous other Byzantine ecclesiastics of their day, they regarded the Bishop of Rome not only as the patriarch of the West but also as the supreme head of the Church. News of their arrival in Venice inspired a special invitation from Pope Nicholas to wait upon him, but before they left Venice he died in November 867 and was succeeded a month later by Adrian II. Though the Frankish opposition to the Slavic liturgy had been transmitted to the Roman clergy, Adrian ordered the ordination of the candidates whom Constantine and Methodius presented, and authorized the use of the Slavic liturgy. Constantine survived his triumph but a few

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Pope Adrian that he even knew him, but after Adrian's death in 872, his successor John VIII sent a special legate to Louis the German with orders suspending two of the offending bishops and directing the primate of Salzburg to release Methodius and to install him in his proper diocese. Unfortunately, however, John was obliged to placate the Germans, and compromised to the extent of forbidding Methodius the use of the Slavic liturgy, though he permitted preaching in the vernacular.

Since 867 events had moved rapidly in Constantinople itself. Basil I, the bold and able successor of Michael III, whom he had murdered, revived the Byzantine navy, drove the Arabs from the Adriatic, and gradually reëstablished Greek ascendancy over the Croat tribes of the shoreline, who maintained their independence from the Frankish yoke that weighed upon their inland kindred, and therefore for the moment gravitated toward Byzantium. Basil thus secured not only the submission of the Serbs and the coastal tribes as far as Dalmatia, but also sent missionaries to baptize any remaining pagans. Dalmatia was then subjected in 878, and more missionaries accompanied the new Greek administration. Since the Bulgarians had been affiliated with Constantinople since 870, this date represents the high watermark of Byzantine influence in the Balkans. In 879, however, the Grecophile Croat princes were opposed by a revolt which brought the Dalmatian coastal area once more into the Roman sphere. This development defined the future limits of Byzantine influence. It remained dominant in Serbia and on the Croat coast as far as Dalmatia, as well as among the Slavs in Bulgaria, Thrace, and the Greek peninsula.

In connection with the Serbs, we should note here that the faith reached them from two directions. The territory south of Pannonia and west of the Balkan Morava River, which joins the Danube east of Belgrade, was evangelized by Roman priests from the coast as early as the eighth century. On the other hand, the conversion of the Slavs in western Macedonia,

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whether Bulgarians or Serbs, proceeded from Salonika at approximately the same time, but was most intense during the reign of Basil I.

Methodius had not obeyed the Pope's injunction to abandon the Slavic liturgy but, when summoned to Rome in 879 to explain his position, was again victorious on even this point. John VIII, however, endeavored to conciliate Svatopluk, who had never been personally sympathetic toward Methodius, by naming as the latter's suffragan the Prince's favorite priest, one Wiching, who immediately took the side of the Frankish clergy and blocked Methodius at every turn. The Archbishop eventually decided to shift his activities further south, and in 881 set forth on a journey toward the valleys of the Drave and the Save, where he received an invitation from Basil I to visit Constantinople. The Patriarch Photius was, after all, an old friend, and the Emperor himself was well-informed of Methodius's activities in a frontier area not entirely alien to Greek interests.

Upon his return to his diocese Methodius at first concentrated his efforts on translating additional canonical books and ecclesiastical texts. Unfortunately for his pastoral work, however, John VIII was poisoned in 882, and under Stephen V hostile exchanges between Rome and Byzantium were resumed. Methodius himself died in April, 885, after designating as his successor Gorazd, his most capable disciple. Wiching, Methodius's old enemy, straightway renewed his intrigues and had no trouble in securing the favorable ear of a pope already irritated against Byzantium. Stephen V abandoned the Slavic liturgy altogether, Wiching's partisans secured the eternal exile of Gorazd and the other disciples of Methodius, and thus the work of twenty years in Moravia was wiped out.

After the decision of Prince Boris of Bulgaria to accept conversion in 862, the next twenty years were marked by fruitless papal attempts to gain control of the Bulgarian church. In 870, indeed, the Eighth Oecumenical Council, under the influence of Basil I, had formally decided that the Bulgarian church was subject to the patriarchate of Constantinople, and

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fortunes, not only threw off even the vestiges of a Byzantine protectorate but also extended its domain far into Serbia. During this interval Clement's activity greatly expanded. He founded the great monastery of Saint Panteleimon at Okhrida, and on Simeon's accession he was consecrated a bishop. The legacy of Constantine and Methodius was thus preserved in all its wealth, to the great advantage of Bulgaria, which thus became a purely Slavic country with an autonomous church. Simeon was accordingly able to realize his father's ambition of proclaiming a Bulgarian patriarchate.

Obviously the roots of the culture disseminated by the Bulgarian church, however nationalistic, were essentially Byzantine. Though a Slav by birth, Clement himself had been trained by Greek masters, and Simeon too was culturally so Hellenized as to be nicknamed the "half-Greek." Hence the literary productions of the Macedonian schools founded by Clement and his associates were, if not mere translations, usually slavish imitations of Greek texts. Simeon himself composed an anthology of texts compiled from Greek theologians. Though the influence of Byzantine letters during this epoch was limited to the theological and the liturgical sphere, it is of relatively enormous significance that at the end of the ninth century and the beginning of the tenth the Old Bulgarian language was being adopted for literary purposes under Greek influence, and that a large body of Slavic-speaking priests was being created who were capable of transmitting at least the ecclesiastical aspects of Greek culture in their own tongue. The mission of Constantine and Methodius thus bore fruit, not on the ground they themselves sowed, but on territory closer to Byzantium, so that the results of what their disciples accomplished in Bulgaria could be easily drawn upon seventy-five years later when a much more extensive field was opened with the conversion of the south Russian principality of Kiev.

At the same time, the Slavic liturgy which had been proscribed in Moravia was also transmitted through Pannonia into Croatia, but in general the popes saw no reason to use it

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as an instrument once Byzantine encroachments were no longer feared, especially since the local bishops were liable to Roman influence, and the Slavic princes themselves were anxious to placate the romance-speaking populations of the wealthy coastal cities. But with the exception of Croatia, the work of Constantine and Methodius brought all the South Slavs and later the Eastern Slavs under the cultural aegis of Byzantium.

The Slovenes, the Czechs, and the Moravians had fallen, as we have seen, to the lot of Rome. While the Slovenes, by withdrawing southward from the Danube, were able to escape total absorption by the Germans, their Slavic kindred on the Baltic coast and in the interior of Germany faced infinitely more critical circumstances. The Saxon clergy were eager for landed possessions, and the easiest way to obtain them was by evangelizing the Transelbian Slavs, whose conversion would also pour tithes into their coffers. German expansion at the expense of the Western Slavs was most drastically pursued during the reign of Otto I (936-973). Beyond the Elbe a swarm of bishoprics arose, half houses of God, half fortresses. The Slavs became tributary as far as the Oder. They retained their landed possessions, but all unoccupied land was transferred from the Slavic chiefs to the German crown. Royal vassals were placed in the tribal centers to operate the administration, and bishoprics were established along the eastern border. Forcible conversion of the Slavic natives became the order of the day. Narrow as their margin of living was, the Slavic peasants were driven to rigorous abstention from labor on the numerous saints' days. The spiritual content of their conversion was actually so slight at this period that it is actually recorded how the Slavic peasants who were laboriously taught to say *Kyrie eleison* in the right places sullenly parroted it with like-sounding Slavic words which mean "in a crooked alder-bush." Indeed, the avarice and oppression of both clergy and nobles provoked violent outbreaks of resentment among the Transelbian Slavs in 982, 1018, and 1066, which cost many German lives and threw the colonizers back across the Elbe, so that it was not until the middle

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of the twelfth century that German domination was reëstablished between the Elbe and the Oder.

The beginnings of the Polish state fall, as it happens, within the period characterized by German pressure on the Baltic Slavs during the reign of Otto I. About 963 the pagan Polish prince Mieszko I ruled over a realm east of the Oder and south of Pomerania and modern East Prussia, which included the middle and upper Vistula basin, stretching further southward to the Czech border at the Sudetens, and comprising most of Volhynia. The German Margrave Gero, whose territory included a good part of modern Saxony, subjugated the Slavic Lusatians (Liticians) and Milchanians of the upper Spree valley. These tribes extended eastward to the Oder and the Bober, and were thus in close contact with the western Polish peoples. At the same time, German penetration threatened Silesia southwest of the upper Oder, and in 979 the Margrave Odo even endeavored to force Mieszko to pay tribute on the area between the Oder and the War—the rivers (that is, roughly, between Frankfurt-Glogau and Posen). This expedition resulted in a German defeat, but the German menace had already induced Mieszko to improve his standing by affiliating himself with a Christian reigning family and to embrace the faith himself.

In spite of his previous record of polygamy, he married Dubravka (Bona), sister of the Czech prince Boleslav I, in 966, and was converted. The Polish bishopric of Posen was founded in 968. It was subject to the archdiocese of Magdeburg, and its first encumbent was a German cleric. Mieszko then made his submission to Otto in Quedlinburg on Easter Day, 973. After Otto I's death, German relations with Poland were more or less in abeyance until 984. Meanwhile Dubravka had died in 977, whereupon Mieszko married Oda, previously a nun, the daughter of the Margrave Thiedrich. Mieszko himself died in 992 as a faithful vassal of Otto III. His son and successor, Boleslav the Brave, maintained the same policy with such success that he won the respect of both Otto III and Pope Sylvester II

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tact with the Poles, and among his concubines were several Christian girls of either Greek or Slavic blood. He was not without interest in religion as such, having staged a sort of pagan revival in Kiev at the opening of his reign. There is some likelihood that frequent exchanges with Byzantium had caused him to entertain the idea of conversion before 987, but in that year an unusual combination of circumstances pushed him toward a decision.

John Tzimisces, one of the greatest of Byzantine generals and victor over Vladimir's father Sviatoslav in Bulgaria, had died in 976 after reigning as emperor of Byzantium for six years. He was succeeded on the throne by two youthful sovereigns, Basil II and Constantine. Since their prestige was slight, their authority was almost immediately menaced by a military revolt, the leader of which even occupied Scutari, opposite Constantinople. As soon as the revolt broke out, Basil entered into correspondence with Vladimir in the hope of winning an alliance and auxiliary troops. Vladimir was disinclined to furnish this aid without commensurate reward, and coupled with his assent the condition that the emperors should give him their sister Anna in marriage. Up to this point Byzantine sovereigns had normally been chary of marrying their female relations to alien princes. Constantine Porphyrogenitus had laid down the principle twenty-five years before that no Byzantine princess should marry a foreign potentate unless he were baptized. The German emperor Otto I had vainly negotiated in behalf of his son for the hand of the emperors' sister whom Vladimir now sought. But the situation of the empire was too critical to brook long delay, and the emperors consented to the marriage provided Vladimir would accept conversion.

The Prince of Kiev then supplied six thousand troops who helped to repress the rebellion during the summer of 988. But once the fortunes of the emperors began to rise, they showed manifest reluctance to execute the part of the bargain which concerned the Princess Anna. Vladimir, for his part, had taken this stipulation very seriously and intended it should be en-

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forced. So while his troops were still assisting the Byzantines during the summer of 989, he besieged and captured the Greek city of Chersonesus on the western Crimean coast about three miles south of modern Sevastopol, after which he sent envoys to Constantinople with the warning that if the princess were not sent to meet him he would attack the capital. Basil and Constantine were thus induced to carry out their share of the contract, and Anna departed tearfully with a numerous suite for Chersonesus, where Vladimir's baptism and his marriage were duly solemnized.

After restoring Chersonesus to the Greeks, Vladimir returned to Kiev accompanied by the priests in Anna's entourage, and there proceeded to convert his subjects with the same forthright energy he showed in other crises. He caused the local idols to be overthrown, and the local population was subjected to wholesale baptism in the Dnieper river which flows past the city. As conversion progressed, the principate was divided into eight eparchies, each under a bishop. During the next century, however, Christianity spread rather slowly, as is indicated by outbreaks of paganism fifty and even eighty years later under the leadership of local shamans.

The conversion of the masses was to some extent accelerated by a facile syncretism which assimilated the figures of Christian belief to the chief dieties of the rudimentary pagan Slavic cult. Perun the thunderer was identified with the prophet Elijah in his chariot of fire, and it was also an easy step from belief in Svarog, the god of fire, and in his son Dazhbog, the life-giving solar orb, to an elementary conception of Almighty God the Father and the Son, the light of the world and of truth. The pagan Slavs' conceptions of an omnipotent multitude of benign or hostile supernatural beings were satisfied by the Christian notions of the Virgin, of saints, and of devils. Conversion also provided the upper classes with a general basic philosophy or *Weltanschaung* and with abundant ritual answers to their common human speculations. It likewise endowed them with an ideal of conduct which, though hardly

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attained by every individual, nevertheless produced some admirable characters among early medieval churchmen and laymen.

The sources from which Vladimir drew his clergy present a problem of some importance and complexity. Adequate evidence exists that Greek priests were sent to Russia both in the suite of the Princess Anna and after her marriage to Vladimir. Since there were isolated Christians and at least one church at Kiev prior to Vladimir's conversion, there must have been a small nucleus of Russian-speaking clergy in the city itself before 989, though these clerics were probably of Greek nationality. Vladimir's well-attested activity in wholesale conversion even among the masses at widely separated points makes it likely, however, that some provision was made for evangelizing the people in a language comprehensible to them. Priests with the appropriate linguistic qualifications could be found at this period only among members of the Byzantine clergy who had been active in Bulgaria or among the Bulgarian clergy themselves, since the differentiation between the spoken languages of Bulgaria and south Russia in the late tenth century was so slight as to constitute no barrier to common understanding.

The tradition of vernacular religious culture under Greek intellectual auspices had been established in Bulgaria during the reigns of Boris (852-889) and Simeon (894-927). In the light of the eventual transmission to Kiev of a large body of ecclesiastical literature in Old Bulgarian translations, it is an accepted and doubtless correct convention of Russian literary history in the pre-Tartar period to assume that these works were first transmitted to Kievan Russia through the medium of Byzantium as priests were sent out into the Russian field. But, curiously enough, there are no historical data behind this respectable hypothesis, nor does any explicit evidence point to the slightest direct contact between the charges of Bulgaria and Russia during the principates of Vladimir and of his son through 1045.

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Kiev in 1240. No remnant of it now survives except the ruins of its foundations.

In Vladimir's day the clergy rapidly assumed a place among the ruling class. Apart from introducing new notions of judicial procedure derived from the Greek *Nomokanon*, the early clergy also undertook to advise Vladimir on affairs of state and local policy. In 992 the bishops advised the substitution of corporal punishment for fines in order to suppress brigandage and similarly suggested that the proceeds of fines in other cases should be spent on military equipment for defense against the menacing nomads. The ecclesiastical courts also assumed jurisdiction over numerous social problems and offenses which took new significance in the light of the Christian moral code: bigamy, divorce, heresy, sacrilege, witchcraft, and adultery. Vladimir thus tolerated the fusion of church and state on the basis of contemporary Byzantine usage.

By the process of conversion among the various Slavic groups, the bases of cultural and political differentiation were thus laid before the year 1000. Exposed to Christian influences since the seventh century, the Slovenes were converted by Bavarian clergy, and after their absorption into the Carolingian empire in 788, remained until the first World War in submission to one German state or another. The Croats, though in contact with the mission of Constantine and Methodius, reverted to Rome after the disciples of Methodius were expelled from Moravia, and have come down through the ages as Catholics, whatever their political allegiance. The Slavs along the Elbe and the Baltic were subjected to the most violent political and religious pressure from Saxon priests and nobles with the result that, despite heroic revolts, they were slowly pushed back toward the former Polish frontier. The Byzantine influence in Moravia lasted but a quarter of a century before the work of the proto-apostles, Constantine and Methodius collapsed, and the Moravians, like the Czechs, remained under the pastoral care of bishops of the Roman rite. Though the

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selves in the cities, there was as yet no prospect for the formation of a growing and self-conscious middle class whose aspirations might have sown the seeds of progress. As a result, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries all intellectual advance was confined to the aristocratic and ruling minority.

In the seventeenth century, however, the door was again opened to Western influence by the need for self-defense. Foreign mercenaries entered the Russian army, which now became a professional force. New mines and arsenals were opened. The foreign colony founded at Moscow by Ivan the Terrible (the German suburb), though scattered during the upheaval of 1598-1612, was soon repopulated with merchants, technicians, and artisans, and their advanced notions of material comfort influenced those Russians who came into contact with them. Artamon Matveyev, the able foreign minister of Michael's son, the Tsar Alexis (in turn Peter the Great's father), married a Scotch lady, and was one of the first Russian nobles to set up his household on a Western scale. Through him notions of contemporary culture penetrated even to the court. Natalia Narishkina, Peter the Great's mother, was Matveyev's ward, and though Scotch on her mother's side, was probably the first Muscovite lady of her day to receive even a moderate education and to emancipate herself from the seclusion in which noblewomen had vegetated since the Tartar conquest.

While material progress was largely implemented by the German technicians resident in Moscow, new theological and literary ideas penetrated the empire by another route. It may be recalled that Kiev and the Dnieper valley were conquered by the Lithuanians in 1363. Then by the fusion of Poland and Lithuania at the end of the fourteenth century, the whole Ukraine became exposed to Polish colonization and cultural influence. By the sixteenth century, Polish intellectual life was entirely under the control of the Jesuits, who developed an intense but largely unsuccessful proselytizing activity among the Orthodox Ukrainians. As a counterpoise against Jesuit influence, the Orthodox clergy of the Kiev area opened schools

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which taught the late renaissance disciplines on which the Poles themselves were fed. This process culminated in the establishment of a college at Kiev which was founded in 1622 by Peter Mogila, the great Orthodox Bishop of Kiev. An alumnus of this school, Simeon Polotski, who was already known to Tsar Alexis as a scholar and poet, migrated to Moscow in 1663, where he founded a small monastery school, and in 1667 became tutor to the Tsar's eldest son. Simeon was the first influential exponent at Moscow of renaissance scholarship on a Latin basis, and from 1667, when the Ukraine was ceded by Poland to Moscow, the impact of Western influences through Kievan channels was immediately intensified. That this infusion of a new spirit did not take place without violent opposition goes without saying, but destiny was on the side of the progressives, even though progress was appallingly slow.

It is apparent, however, that increasingly broader breaches had been splitting the Chinese Wall of Muscovite self-sufficiency ever since the time of Ivan III. But Peter the Great set out to demolish it with one charge. For a prince of Moscow, his upbringing was exceptional. His education had been fragmentary, but his free contacts with foreign technicians while he lived in the country near Moscow during the regency of his sister Sophia embued him with a profound taste for military and naval science and mechanics. Essentially practical and rationalistic, he departed from Muscovite tradition in caring nothing for the church as a vessel of dogma and used it only insofar as it was adaptable to his purposes. His boundless energy strained toward goals far beyond the comprehension of any but an infinitesimal minority of his subjects, the rest of whom he undertook to reform and modernize by brute force. But he knew Russia could not become a major European power without the knowledge by which to use the fruits of modern technique. This knowledge he literally drove into the Russians at the point of the bayonet. Since his eye was permanently fixed on material progress, he cared little for abstract learning. His idea of literature was propaganda, and the for-

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Passau and Vienna, and the area devastated by the Magyars was largely reoccupied by the year 1000.

At this period,[1] German missionary work in the Slavic districts south of the Danube proceeded not from Regensburg or Passau, which were mainly occupied with the German settlements along the Danube, but from Bamberg. Missionaries from this diocese lived among the Slavs of Carinthia which was rapidly settled by colonists from Franconia and the middle Rhineland, as opposed to the predominantly Bavarian origin of the German settlers in Austria itself. While Bamberg was thus active in Carinthia (roughly the valley of the Drave east and west of Villach), Bavarian missionaries from Freising in Bavaria occupied themselves with Carniola (Krain), the region of the Save valley somewhat further southwest (the hinterland of Trieste), and here the colonists were again Bavarian. The Slovene population found by these German newcomers in Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria (originally a portion of Carinthia), was less driven out or exterminated than it was repressed. Documentary evidence reveals German and Slavic personal and place names side by side. The politically and socially dominant class was everywhere German. In Austria along the Danube, from which the Slavic population had been driven by the Avars before Carolingian times, the peasantry was almost exclusively Bavarian. But in Carinthia and Carniola, German peasants lived in close proximity to the native Slovenian peasantry which remained most numerous southwest of the Mur river in the valleys of the Drave and Save. Peculiar conditions on the right bank of the Danube thus explain the southward contraction of the Slovenes away from this river and their constant subservience in later days to Austrian political influence.

German influences in Moravia and their unfortunate consequences for the mission of Constantine and Methodius have already been mentioned. Even while the brothers were still active, the struggle for Frankish supremacy was going on and

[1] [10th century --Analyst]

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intensified during the period of Slavic expansion to produce the various Eastern, Western, and Southern Slavic tongues. The subsequent political and cultural history of the Slavs was then conditioned by their locations and by the source from which they assimilated Christianity. The Slavs adjacent to the Danube were, we saw, the first to encounter Christian missionaries at the close of the eighth century, and were soon subjected to the Frankish realm which drew its spiritual guidance from Rome. Early in the ninth century, these influences expanded to Bohemia and Moravia, while the bold German political and missionary offensive which dispossessed the Slavs along the Elbe and the Baltic coast began at the same time and lasted nearly four hundred years.

During the second half of the ninth century, Byzantine Christianity penetrated Bulgaria, and political combinations in Moravia inspired the historic mission of Constantine and Methodius which, though fraught with far-reaching consequences for the Eastern Slavs, was barred from success in central Europe by the jealous opposition of the German clergy. The first quarter of the tenth century then witnessed an intense growth of Bulgarian culture under Byzantine influences which was destined to bear fruit after the conversion of Russia, and with the exception of the Croats, the Balkan Slavs all received the faith from Constantinople. Christianity was transmitted to Poland from Bohemia toward the middle of the tenth century. And finally, near the close of the tenth century, political events produced a situation in which conversion through Byzantine agency became advantageous for Prince Vladimir I of Kiev, through whose efforts the medieval Russians first abandoned paganism.

The Eastern Slavs, ancestors of the Russians, we found at the dawn of their history split up into sparsely settled and disunited tribal units, with a tendency to group themselves around trading posts and strong points strategically located on the course of the middle and upper Dnieper and on the northern rivers which empty into Lake Ladoga and the Baltic.

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Chapter Seven

ORTHODOXY AND PANSLAVISM

IN the renewal of the spirit of Slavonic solidarity an important place must be attributed to the action of Orthodoxy.

The Muscovite Patriarchate, almost as soon as it was reconstituted on new juridical bases and assured of the Kremlin's support, set out to reconquer the communities who had relaxed their ties as a result of the Bolshevist Revolution, thereby renewing a Russian tradition which dates from Ivan III. The spiritual object of this pacific crusade was to restore union and harmony to the Orthodox or 'Pravoslav' world. But its political objective, though not openly avowed, was none the less obvious; the Moscow Government sought to extend its influence by having recourse to the 'armour of light' of which the Apostle speaks.

This campaign met with no canonical obstacle, since, among the Pravoslavs, there is no primacy of jurisdiction. But it *did* meet with resistance from the autocephalous 'national' tendencies of the various Orthodox Churches—tendencies which had been affirmed in the States created or enlarged by the First World War and in which the hierarchy had seized the opportunity of breaking away from the spiritual control of the Phanar (Constantinople Patriarchate).

But the weight of Soviet power enabled the Russian clergy easily to overcome the prejudices felt by the national Churches against any moral control exercised outside their State frontiers. For this purpose the clergy borrowed their arguments from the Muscovite temporal power, that is to say, they posed as champions of proletarian emancipation, and exploited the Orthodox Slavs' old prejudices against the Catholic Church. Whilst the Patriarch Alexis visited the Christian communities of the Middle East to restore the 'primacy of honour' of the Russian Church in the Orthodox Pentarchy (Moscow, Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem), the Metropolitan Alexis of Juroslav went to the United States to try to rally the section of Orthodox emigrants who resisted the authority of the Patriarch of Moscow.

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CHAPTER IV

CONVERSION OF THE SLAVS

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THE final breach between Rome and Constantinople still lay in the future. But to all intents and purposes Orthodoxy now stands alone, the religion of the Empire, and conceiving itself as the heir and guardian of the traditional Hellenistic culture. In the West the Papacy, still recognized as the primary see of Christendom, was virtually a secular power also, between the Empire and the Franks, with whom it was in close alliance and upon whose kings it had poured the anointing oil, and in the end bestowed an imperial diadem.

In the East the Melkite Patriarchates were isolated outposts within the fierce world of Islam which was battering at the defences of the Empire.

It was some compensation for those losses that Orthodoxy was able, in the ninth and tenth centuries, to initiate a great missionary achievement and to strengthen its position by securing the allegiance of the bulk of the Slavs. The inclusion of the Slavs within the orbit of Byzantium was not undisputed by Rome, and the rivalry was intertwined with other quarrels concerned both with jurisdiction and with doctrine which broke out between the two Churches in the ninth century.

The Balkans had been swept by successive waves of invaders, by the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, and finally, as we have seen, by the Slavs and Bulgars, who established themselves there permanently, settling first in the open country, and later in the cities. The old civilization with its civil and ecclesiastical administration disappeared. But the Empire refused to regard the territory as permanently lost, it was still in theory a recoverable part of the Empire, and involved in the process of recovering it was the task of converting it to

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797 Christianity. In districts where the primitive Slavs came into close touch with the Greek and Roman world and accepted its higher civilization and culture, they were far more easily induced to accept the Christian religion also, than was the case among the more remote masses of the invaders. These latter soon became aware of the fact that to embrace the new religion was a danger to their own tribal coherence and even to invite foreign domination in the political sphere.

There were other obstacles, too, which slowed down the process of converting the Slavs and Bulgars, and prominent among them the fact that ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the Balkans was a bone of contention between Rome and Constantinople. Politically the whole peninsula was part of the Eastern Empire, whether in fact or in theory. Ecclesiastically it had for centuries been divided between East and West. The geographical line of division had varied, but had tended to shift westward, and, as was recorded in the previous chapter, Leo III during the iconoclastic controversy had expelled Roman jurisdiction from Illyricum altogether. But this did not mean that the Papal claims in that respect were abandoned, and missionary enterprise for the conversion of the Slavs (including the Bulgars) came from the West as well as from the East. The invaders had by this time crystallized into various recognizable national units. There were the Moravians to the north, roughly in what is now Czechoslovakia; Slovenes in the south of Austria and the north-west of Yugoslavia; the Croats along the Dalmatian coast; the Serbs in the centre of the peninsula, and the Bulgars along the lower Danube.

The Slovenes having occasion to enlist the help of the Bavarians against their Avar enemies, came under the lordship of Bavaria, and later, with the Bavarians were engulfed in the Empire of Charlemagne. He drove out the Avars and incorporated both the Slovenes and the Croats of this region into the diocese of Salzburg. Thus they were converted from the Catholic West and later came under the direct control of the Pope. They have remained Roman Catholic to this day. The same is true of the Croats further south and along the Dalmatian Coast, though they showed some wavering between East and West in early days. For here, after the action of

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Leo III above referred to, great efforts were made to induce the people to accept the Byzantine rite. But by the end of the ninth century the country had finally settled down to the Papal allegiance. Yet Mestrović's colossal figure of Gregory of Nin at Spalato stands as a witness to the long struggle of the Croats for the use of their Slavonic language in worship. 747 •

The Moravians also were destined in the end to come under the Roman obedience, although they owed their conversion largely to the Byzantines. And here we have the romantic story of Cyril and Methodius, two brothers who came to be known as the Apostles of the Slavs. They were Greeks of Thessalonika, men of great ability, the younger in particular (known in his lifetime as Constantine) having an established reputation as a teacher and philosopher in Constantinople. He had already been employed by Photius, before the latter became Patriarch, upon a political and religious mission to the Khazars, who lived on the plains through which the Dnieper and the Don flow into the Black Sea, and have the unique distinction of having adopted Judaism as their religion. While there Constantine acquired the relics of St. Clement of Rome, and apparently carried them with him on his later travels.

About the year 862, the Moravian Prince Rastislav sent emissaries to Constantinople, where they found Photius, now Patriarch, the most conspicuous figure. To counteract the danger of the recently formed alliance between Louis the German and the Bulgarians, Rastislav offered, and succeeded in establishing, his own pact with the Empire. The military side of this alliance bore fruit two years later when a Bulgarian army on its way to help Louis the German was defeated by the Byzantines.

There was an ecclesiastical aspect of the agreement also. Rastislav was restive under the vigorous nationalistic tendencies displayed by the German missionaries in his country: and to Photius the situation may well have seemed a valuable opportunity to strengthen his position against the Pope. Constantine and Methodius were despatched into Moravia where their efforts soon shewed signs of success, for they brought the Christian religion to the people in their own language. The brothers seem to have formed a happy

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combination, the elder with his gifts as administrator and the younger as scholar and linguist. And doubtless one of their main qualifications was that coming from Thessalonika, they had lived in close contact with a Slav population and were perfectly familiar with a Slav language.

It was presumably this Macedonian Slav dialect which the brothers reduced to writing and into which they translated a number of books, liturgical and other, for the use of their converts. They adapted the Greek minuscule letters into an alphabet to convey the Slavonic sounds, and this is the Glagolitic in which some old Church Slavonic was written and which, in a modified form, has survived for liturgical use still in certain dioceses on the Dalmatian coast. All the Orthodox Slavs today, however, use another alphabet, called Cyrillic, which is based upon the Greek uncials. Whether the Apostles of the Slavs had anything to do with the invention of the Cyrillic letters is uncertain—but they bear the name of the younger, for at the end of his life Constantine became a monk and took the name of Cyril. His death occurred in Rome in 869. Methodius went back as an Archbishop, to continue his labours in Moravia till his own death in 885.

The two brothers, with their devoted band of helpers, did an immense service for Slav religion and culture. But the attempt to set up a Slav Church in Moravia failed, and after the death of Methodius the Germanizing party secured the upper hand. Methodius's disciples and helpers were treated with some indignity and harshness and expelled. We shall meet them again later in Bulgaria.

The Serbian clans, lying inland, were less exposed than the Croats and Slovenes to outside influences, and although there was some infiltration of Christianity among them, no general conversion took place until the latter part of the ninth century. The Serbian Prince Mutimir, who died in 891, sent a request for missionaries from Constantinople and was himself baptized with large numbers of his people. But the political and utilitarian aspect of the event was rather unusually prominent. The Emperor had recently made a signal display of the might of Byzantine arms in his suppression of certain Serbian pirates in the Adriatic. It was not until the returning

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disciples of Methodius made their influence felt that Christianity as religion made real progress among the Serbs, and even so, many pagan customs were retained and, more or less, blended with the new Faith. But the official conversion of the Serbs is dated from the baptism of Mutimir. During his reign the Serbian Church was under the direct influence of Byzantium and the services were in Greek. But as Bulgarian ascendency became predominant in the Balkans, Byzantine suzerainty gradually gave place to Bulgarian, and the Greek liturgy to the Slavonic.

The first Bulgarian king to receive baptism was Boris who reigned from 852 to 889 and was one of the ablest monarchs in Bulgarian history. Christianity had penetrated into Bulgaria before that time, and there had even been some persecution of it, due largely to fear of it as an agent which prepared the way for foreign and, in particular, for Byzantine domination. Boris was a statesman and although his own personal religious convictions played their part in his acceptance of Christianity, there were other considerations also that he had in mind. To make his realm a Christian State was some defence against the political and religious missionary zeal of his Christian neighbours. Further, it would tend to consolidate his own position. The great bulk of his subjects were Slavs, and many of them already Christian; the Bulgars were a ruling minority among whom Boris was the chief of many rulers. To favour the Slav element in his realm, therefore, and to Christianize it would be to break the power of the Bulgarian nobility and establish himself as sole ruler with all the force of the current Christian conception of royalty and the divine authority delegated to kings, to support him. The revolt of the Bulgarian nobles which subsequently broke out showed that they realized all this clearly enough, but they were too late.

In furtherance of his plans Boris looked first towards Rome for the same reason that Rastislav of Moravia had looked to Constantinople, i.e., each looked to the opponents of those from whom their own danger was greatest. But the Byzantine Emperor and Photius, then at the height of his quarrel with the Pope, were just as much alive to the facts and struck first.

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The matter was once more submitted to a Council (in 879) which, surprisingly, decided that Bulgaria should be returned to Rome. But Boris refused to be returned to Rome. It is possible that this was a contingency which had been foreseen by Photius, but in any case he loyally abode by the agreement reached, sent no more clergy to Bulgaria, and remained on good terms with Nicholas's successor, John VIII. The final decision had, however, been reached and the Bulgarian Church was to remain within the orbit of Orthodoxy. One other aspect of Boris's policy remained to be realized. To make his Church a really national institution, worship must be in the language of the people, to whom the bewildering changes from Greek to Latin had meant but the substitution of one foreign language for another.

The disciples of Methodius, who had just been expelled from Moravia provided Boris with precisely what he needed. The less important of these unfortunate men had been dubbed heretics and sold as such into slavery, the more prominent leaders, Gorazd, Clement and others more politely conducted to the Danube and bidden to cross it, never to return.

Boris gave them a cordial welcome, and under his patronage they did a great work, far-reaching and permanent, for Slav Christianity and culture. A centre for the training of a Slav clergy was established, a Slav Bulgarian Church was organized, and many translations into the Slav language were made. Boris was wise and skilful enough to effect these changes without offending Byzantium and his own Greek hierarchy, and the latter were in due course replaced by Slav bishops. Thus through Clement of Okhrida and his companions the work of the Apostles of the Slavs bore a rich harvest among the Slavs of the Balkans. For the political ascendency of Bulgaria continued to grow until for a while it wrested the hegemony from Constantinople itself. Boris's successor, Simon, was an outstanding personality, who not only decisively defeated the Byzantines in war, and had himself crowned with an imperial title, but himself a scholar and erstwhile monk, carried on his father's ecclesiastical and cultural policy and declared the Bulgarian Church autocephalous. Thus was welded into shape in Bulgaria a cultural and religious instrument which was ready to hand when needed for the evangelization of Russia.

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was ready to hand when needed for the evangelization of Russia.

The Vikings, who were the terror of north-west Europe, made their way south-eastwards also, along the waterways which connect the Baltic with the Black Sea. Here they found a Slav population which about the middle of the ninth century was organizing itself in political centres such as Novgorod in the north and Kiev in the south. The Scandinavian warrior merchants passing from the Volkhov to the Dnieper, established themselves whether as protectors or conquerors as masters of these communities, and if *Russ* is indeed a Scandinavian word the process which took place in Bulgaria was repeated, and the ruling minority gave its name to the Slav people which absorbed them. These "Russians" soon found their way across the Black Sea to the Great City, Byzantium, known to them as Tsargrad. In 860 their fleet appeared beneath its walls but was dispersed by a tempest. The part of Sergius in 626 was on this occasion played by the Patriarch Photius, who inspired the defenders with courage and energy.

The early contacts of the Russians with Constantinople are shrouded in a good deal of obscurity, but certain events connected with their conversion stand out as historical. The Patriarch Ignatius sent an archbishop into the country and he made a number of conversions. Igor, Prince of Kiev, made an unsuccessful attack upon Constantinople in 941, and a treaty which he made with the Byzantine Emperor a few years later reveals the fact that there were then Christians at Kiev and that they had a cathedral dedicated to St. Elias. Whether this community was the direct descendant of the converts made by Ignatius, or derived its Christianity from elsewhere is unknown. Igor's widow, Olga, who was later canonized, was definitely a Christian. She visited Constantinople and may have been baptized either there or at Kiev, and at one time seems to have adopted the policy of Boris of Bulgaria and to have played East and West against each other in her ecclesiastical relations. In response to her request, a mission was actually sent from Germany by the Emperor Otto, but it was half-hearted, and returned without accomplishing anything. Neither Olga's son Svyatoslav nor her grandson were Christians,

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but they at least tolerated Christianity, and Olga who lived until 969 was able to foster the growing Christian community. 777.

It was Vladimir, an illegitimate son of Svyatoslav, who less than twenty years after Olga's death took the decisive step and accepted the new religion for himself and his people. He was lord of Novgorod and made himself master of Kiev. Much discussion has taken place about the circumstances of Vladimir's baptism and the relation in which that event stood to his marriage and his capture of Kherson.

Some scholars see no reason to look for any one external event as the occasion which brought about his baptism. He must have been familiar with the Christian religion and with the work of his paternal grandmother Olga, and it would not escape the attention of an intelligent man that while culture, civilization and political power were associated in his world with Christianity, paganism belonged to the half-barbarous hordes against whom he warred on the steppes. They therefore suppose that Vladimir was baptized in his own city of Kiev, before, or possibly during, the visit of an Embassy from Constantinople.

The more usual view is that the baptism took place at Kherson after Vladimir had captured that place, in the following circumstances. In Byzantium the imperial throne was being shaken by rebellion, and its occupants hard put to it to deal with the rebel. The Embassy was sent to solicit the military assistance of the Russian chieftain. It was successful, Vladimir's terms being good payment for his men and the hand in marriage of the Emperor's sister for himself. The terms were accepted, Vladimir carried out his part of the bargain, and with his help the rebellion was crushed. When the danger was over, however, the Emperors showed marked reluctance to let their sister go back with the victorious Russian, and Vladimir had to resort to force to secure possession of his bride. The walls of Constantinople were too strong even for his wild warriors, so on his way home he besieged and captured the Greek town of Kherson in the Crimea. This display of force proved sufficient to bring the Byzantines to reason, and the bride was forthwith despatched to her distant future home. She, with her ecclesiastical retinue from Constantinople, joined Vladimir

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at Kherson. And thither also at the same time arrived an Embassy from Pope John XV.[1]

797 Vladimir set to work with energy to make his people Christian. The idols of the great god Perun and others, erected in not too distant a past (for Vladimir before he embraced Christianity had toyed with the idea of revitalizing the pagan religion) were overthrown and churches built in their place. The more or less instructed people were baptized in droves in the Dnieper. Other influences were at work beside that of Byzantine Orthodoxy. The institution of tithes is found in the early Russian Church, and it would seem that that must have come from the West, and the same is true of the veneration of certain distinctively Latin saints.

Even before the time of Vladimir, books and perhaps missionaries also had arrived from Bulgaria. The work which the disciples of the Apostles of the Slavs had carried on in that country spread into Russia, with the result that the Russian Church had a Slavonic liturgy from the beginning. After Vladimir's death there was a continued period of quarrelling among his sons, in the course of which the celebrated Boris and Gleb, unresisting, met their deaths. But one of the sons, Yaroslav, finally succeeded in establishing his position and reigning for thirty-five years. He it was who finally settled the dependence of the Russian Church upon the Ecumenical Patriarchate.

[793] In 1037 Alexis the Studite consecrated Theopemptos as Metropolitan of Kiev and thereafter, with two notable exceptions, the Russian Metropolitans were Greeks appointed from Constantinople until the fall of that city. Yaroslav was a great lawgiver and he raised Kiev to a status in which he treated with European nations on equal terms and married his daughters into royal houses of the West. He built the superb cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev and in his time the Petchersky Monastery was founded there. He died in 1054, the year in which the schism between Rome and Constantinople was finally consummated.

[1] On the puzzling question of the contact between the West and the Russian Church of this early period, see Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*. London, 1949, p. 173 ff. and 255 f.

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CHAPTER XII

ORTHODOXY IN THE MODERN WORLD

THE modern expansion of Orthodoxy begins with the romantic story of the Russian conquest of Siberia which was begun by Yermak in the reign of Ivan the Terrible (1582). The Russian, as Berdyaev often notes, is essentially a pilgrim and a wanderer, and when he wanders abroad he takes his Church with him. Thus, Orthodoxy has spread north-eastward, right across Siberia and even into Japan, where one of the most striking foreign missions in the history of Christendom led to the establishment of a Japanese Orthodox Church. Its Metropolitan claimed 40,000 adherents in 1931, and all its clergy were Japanese. The Orthodox communities on the mainland of north-east Asia have grown greatly both in size and in importance since the Russian Revolution in 1917 drove many refugees and settlers into that part of the world. The vast diocese of Harbin includes adherents of various races, but they are mainly Russians. Nor did the movement stop at the confines of Asia.

By way of the Aleutian Islands and Alaska, Orthodoxy was introduced into the American Continent at the end of the eighteenth century. The Russians were thus the first to bring Orthodoxy to the New World, but since then members of other Orthodox nations—Greeks, Albanians, Rumanians, Serbs and others—have joined in the flood of immigration from the Old World, and the Orthodox Church has travelled to America, journeying from east to west as well as from west to east. A Russian diocese was founded in South America in 1934. Before the second world war there were eleven Russian dioceses on the American Continent and four Greek. The Orthodox bishops in the United States in a letter to President Roosevelt

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claimed to speak as representing six million people.[1] It is a significant fact that Athenagoras, the Greek Archbishop of America was in 1948 elected to the Ecumenical Throne of Constantinople. There is a Greek Orthodox diocese also in Australia, its archbishop resides in Sydney. Orthodox who live in South Africa too belong to a Greek diocese with its archbishop at Johannesburg. It is one of the seven dioceses of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, whereas the Australian diocese belongs to Constantinople.

Nor must the Russian *diaspora* which followed the Revolution be forgotten. It led to the formation or the enlargement of colonies of Russian Orthodox in many cities of Central and Western Europe with the establishment of diocesan life outside Russia whose relation to the Mother Church in Moscow still remains unsettled.

Thus Orthodoxy is a world-wide phenomenon. Its significance cannot be fairly assessed only in terms of its homelands in the east of Europe. There, of course, the enormous majority of its adherents live, and there is the traditional centre of its prestige. But in considering on the one hand the impact of the modern world upon Orthodoxy and on the other hand any message that Orthodoxy may have for the post-war world, those scattered communities of Orthodox over the world cannot be left out of account.

The parallel with the Anglican Communion can hardly escape notice. That too, like the Orthodox, is made up of a number of independent self-governing Churches, each managing its own affairs, but all in communion with each other and finding their centre of unity in Canterbury as the Orthodox find theirs in Constantinople.

Thus Orthodoxy has come increasingly into contact with "the West", and members of other Christian Confessions have opportunities of becoming aware of it and of studying it by personal observation. Such opportunities are, indeed, much limited, but nevertheless Orthodoxy is no longer a remote phenomenon known to the West only through the medium of travellers' reports or the learned writings of experts.

[1] Bolshakoff: *Foreign Missions*, who gives many statistics about Russian Orthodox abroad.

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describe a number of local or tribal cults; nor is it justifiable to imagine a basis of a uniform primitive Slav system.

In the South, that is to say, in the Lower Danube basin and in Illyria, tradition ascribes the first conversions to Christianity to the time of Heraclius, and there seems not to have been the same fierce and prolonged opposition to the new cult, with which it had to contend in Russia and Northern Europe. In Russia and in Poland, a dual confession, and apparently a heathen priesthood, lasted into the later Middle Ages; in the eleventh to twelfth centuries attempts were made to re-establish the old faith on a national basis. True, the rising in Bulgaria against Boris (eleventh century) was led by an anti-Christian element, but we do not know of an active priesthood in this connection, nor whether it was a revival of Slavonic or Asperuh tendencies. Until the final establishment of a national, autonomous Church in Bulgaria, and in fact, until the turning-point of the Synod of Trnovo (seventeenth century), the indecision as to belief was evident not only in the varying allegiance to pope or patriarch, but in the activities of the numberless heretical sects, not merely tolerated, but at times enjoying considerable privileges and influence.

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The presence of these sects, notably of a gnostic character, pre-dates the Orthodox missions of the tenth century, and caused their retreat from Pannonia. The earliest account of the Slav apostles mentions the 'thrice heathen heretics' who were unacquainted with Slavonic; probably referring to that mixture of Paulician and Eulite doctrine, which, since the fourth century, had spread into the Northern Balkans, and remains to this day among the Nazarenes of the trans-Danube. Syrian and Armenian colonies had been established in Thrace during the seventh century in the time of Constantine, still known to M. Psellos and Cedrenos as Massalians. Armenian Monophysites and Paulicians lived in the neighbourhood of Plovdiv, Sofia, Devol, Rila, Moglena, Kjustendil, etc., from the eleventh to the thirteenth century; the Dragovitci being known in South-east Macedonia as extreme

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dualists since the tenth century, and the Macedonian Kudigeri flourishing until the fifteenth century. Many of these local sects have left traces of their former habitation in place names. These facts alone would necessitate a critical attitude towards the unilateral character of the 'Iranian theory' of old Slavonic religion, since features claimed to show community of custom may equally well derive from these later historical contacts.

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Under various names, the Bogomil or Bulgarian Heresy, described as a mixture of Paulician and Massalian teaching, spread from some such centre as far as Ohrid (according to the accounts of Dimitrij Homatijan, Archbishop of Ohrid, 1217–34); and to Albania (probably during the second Bulgarian occupation); took firm root in Bosnia; for a time troubled the Catholic areas of Dalmatia; appeared in favour in Croatia, in the time of Honorius III being embraced by local nobles and princes; and in Bulgaria Bogomilism was near becoming the official state religion in the thirteenth century. In Rascia, it provided one of the principal activities of the first members of the Nemanja dynasty, whose biographers reckoned them amongst the most zealous defenders of Orthodoxy; nor had the heresy been entirely disposed of in their realms in the time of Stefan Dušan. Later, it found fanatical adherents in Russia, where its teachings were in evidence until recent times.

There is no doubt that the Catharians of Lombardy, and kindred sects in Western and Central Europe, derived their versions of the scriptures directly from a Balkan source; but the Bulgarian heresy, as it appears in the Northern Balkans, has a peculiar character, which can only be explained by a local modification of the Armenian prototype. Did it here absorb the non-Christian element, or develop spontaneously along the lines of popular ideas?

It is not entirely due to imperfect information or a desire to discredit heresy at all costs, that the heretics are mentioned in connection with what had come to be regarded as popular superstitions, magic, and practices which pre-date Chris-